

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 216314

NODIS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA.

2. "DEAR MR PRESIDENT: UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS  
HAS BROUGHT ME UP TO DATE ON HIS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE'S  
CONVERSATIONS WITH YOU. I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR  
ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN  
PROBLEMS. I AM ESPECIALLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE RAPID STEPS  
YOU TOOK TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO AN OPPORTUNITY  
TO CONSIDER OUR PROPOSALS DIRECTLY.

3. "IT APPEARS TO ME FROM WHAT YOU AND SWAPO'S LEADERS  
HAVE SAID THAT PROSPECTS FOR MAKING RAPID PROGRESS IN  
SETTLING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION ARE GOOD EVEN THOUGH DIF-  
FICULTIES STILL LIE AHEAD OF US.

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4. "WITH RESPECT TO ZIMBABWE, I APPRECIATE YOUR FRANKNESS IN CLARIFYING FOR ME YOUR POSITION AND IN ASSESSING THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WE WILL ENCOUNTER IN RESOLVING THAT TROUBLESOME ISSUE. I CAN APPRECIATE THE FRUSTRATION AND DISAPPOINTMENT YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED OVER THE PAST YEARS IN TRYING TO BRING MAJORITY RULE TO ZIMBABWE.

5. "I AM ASKING OUR AMBASSADOR TO PROVIDE YOU WITH A COPY OF THE SPEECH I GAVE TODAY IN PHILADELPHIA. THAT SPEECH REFLECTS THE ADVICE WHICH YOU HAVE GIVEN ME AND I EXPECT THAT IT WILL PROVIDE YOU AN ENCOURAGING STATEMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY. THE SPEECH REAFFIRMS THE UNITED STATES' INTENTION TO WORK FOR DURABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA.

6. "AS YOU ARE AWARE, I WILL BE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN ZURICH THIS WEEKEND. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT I AM ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH VORSTER, I AM READY TO COME TO AFRICA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS. IF MY VISIT IS CONVENIENT TO YOU I PLAN TO ARRIVE IN LUSAKA DURING THE MORNING OF FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10 AND WOULD LEAVE THE FOLLOWING DAY. I COULD, THEREFORE, BE AVAILABLE TO MEET WITH YOU IN THE LATE MORNING, AFTERNOON OR EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 10.

7. "I SHOULD UNDERLINE, HOWEVER, THAT MY PLANS ARE STILL TENTATIVE. THEY ARE CONTINGENT IN PART ON THE PROGRESS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AND I MAKE IN ZURICH. IN LIGHT OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES WE FACE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MY PLANS WILL HAVE TO CHANGE AND THAT YOU AND I WOULD AGREE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO SEND UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE FOR FURTHER PREPARATORY TALKS AND CONSULTATIONS. I HOPE THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE BUT WILL STAY IN THE CLOSEST COMMUNICATION WITH YOU.

8. "ON THE BASIS OF UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE'S RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH YOU, PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND MACHEL, IT IS CLEAR THAT FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS EASIER THAN MAKING PROGRESS  
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TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. IF MY TALKS GO WELL WITH VORSTER I WILL MAKE A FINAL DECISION ON TRAVELING TO AFRICA BASED ON A CLEAR PROSPECT THAT THE NAMIBIAN CRISIS CAN BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK WHICH ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE EXPLAINED TO YOU.

9. "I THEREFORE NEED MOST URGENTLY YOUR ANALYSIS AS TO WHETHER AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH SWAPO WHICH WILL

ENJOY YOUR SUPPORT. AS I SEE THE PROBLEM ON THE EVE OF MY TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, THAT AGREEMENT WOULD BE BASED ON (A) MOVING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTLY MEETING IN WINDHOEK TO GENEVA; (B) INCLUDING SWAPO IN THE GENEVA MEETING; (C) CONFIRMATION

OF A FIXED DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. I WILL ALSO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS SWAPO WISHES RELEASED ARE SET FREE BY THE TIME OF THE GENEVA TALKS. WITH RESPECT TO ZIMBABWE, THE REASONS YOU HAVE GIVEN ME FOR NOT ANTICIPATING RAPID PROGRESS ARE COGENT. I KNOW THAT YOU AGREE WE OWE OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONS AND THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE A SINCERE EFFORT TO SECURE AGREEMENT BEFORE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY DETERIORATES FURTHER. WHILE I DO NOT INSIST ON COMING TO A FINAL AGREEMENT DURING THIS VISIT, I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW WHETHER YOU THINK PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. THE BASIS FOR PROGRESS WOULD INVOLVE, AS ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE TOLD YOU, (A) THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF A BLACK MAJORITY TRANSITION, (B) THE DRAFTING OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH INCLUDES A BASIC PROTECTION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS, (C) FULL INDEPENDENCE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 18 MONTHS, 2 YEARS OR EARLIER.

10. "COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER ON THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE EASY BUT TO RECAPITULATE, BEFORE I COME TO AFRICA I NEED TO BE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THE PROPOSALS I HAVE OUTLINED MEET THE NEEDS OF AFRICA AND WILL HAVE YOUR SUPPORT. I ALSO NEED YOUR ASSURANCE THAT NEW AND UNANTICIPATED CONDITIONS WILL NOT BE ADVANCED WHEN I ARRIVE.

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11. "I ATTACH THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE ABILITY OF ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LEADERS TO UNIFY THEMSELVES IN PREPARATION FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. I KNOW HOW HARD YOU HAVE WORKED TOWARDS THIS GOAL IN THE PAST AND HOPE THAT EFFORTS PRESENTLY UNDER WAY IN THIS RESPECT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. I LOOK FORWARD VERY MUCH TO HEARING FROM YOU ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS UNDERTAKING AS WELL AS RECEIVING YOUR ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE BEFORE, OR EVEN DURING, MY TALKS IN ZURICH.

12. "SO MUCH IS AT STAKE THAT I DON'T WISH TO CONCLUDE THIS LETTER WITHOUT SHARING WITH YOU MY JUDGMENT THAT WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO OVERCOME THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST AND MAKE PROGRESS ON TWO ISSUES VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE. I HOPE

THAT A MEETING WITH YOU WILL PROVE POSSIBLE AND THAT  
WE WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THIS UNDER-  
TAKING TO WHICH YOU AND I ATTACH SO MUCH IMPORTANCE.  
SINCERELY YOURS, HENRY A. KISSINGER." ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

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